UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

Reminiscence

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

A Message from India

By C. F. ANDREWS

If War Were Outlawed

By JOHN DEWEY

Outlaw War Now!

By ZONA GALE

VOLUME XCII NUMBER 5

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A Journal of the Religion of Democracy

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *: Editors :* FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

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IN

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCII. THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1923 NUMBER 5

UPWARD.

In darkest depths earth's grovelings ever knew
Some vision came and Man some loftier grew!

Oh, vast the inspiration this doth give,
By which our hearts in hopefulness shall live,—
The world grows better! If the paths of wrong
Seem many, and the road to virtue long,
This only means that Man's ideals are high,
And patience needed by who climbs the sky.

Let knowledge grow; let men discern their power
To guide and curb the instincts which devour,
Till all the mighty passion of the race
Shall tend to helpfulness and health and grace.
Here on this planet,—Nature's offspring high,—
Called "anthropos" because he fronts the sky,—
Man's upward look has brought him on his way
From life's deep valley shadows to the day.
And upward, upward still, his feet shall climb,
His eyes still lifted to the hills sublime.

High joy of joys!—to know that being true
To Brotherhood is life's blest avenue!
To stand with love's rebuke and stalwart arm
Across each path which threatens human harm,
Still lifting high, with faith that never halts,
The flame which human destiny exalts;
Till hoping, longing nations, near and far,
All rise and follow when they see the star.

JAMES H. WEST.

The final word on the Graeco-Italian-League of Nations episode has been spoken by Lord Grey of Fallodon (Sir Edward Grey) in his letter to the London *Times*, published in full in the New York *Times* (October 9th). Lord Grey's knowledge of European conditions, his long experience in international affairs, his understanding of what took place at Geneva, are all beyond question. Equally beyond question are his belief in the League, his desire to have it succeed, his inclination to put the best possible interpretation upon its doings. What he says, as an informed and sympathetic outsider, is weighty, authoritative, beyond anything to be said by any other living man. Most impressive therefore, to us at least, is his confirmation of all that we have been saying editorially in these columns. He first points out, what is vital in the whole problem, that the affair between Italy and Greece was "war," and that all the talk about the League of Nations having prevented war is only so much poppy-cock.

> "Italy," he says, "though a signatory, ignored the covenant of the League of Nations and at once *committed an act of war*. For forcible occupation of territory accompanied by bombardment and the killing of unresisting citizens belonging to another country is an act of war. To deny this is to deny that words have any meaning."

He then makes explicit the failure of the League to repair this outrage, vindicate its dignity, and sustain the cause of peace and justice. "The Italian-Greek episode," he writes, "has exhibited the use of force in its roughest form, . . . and the matter has been closed by a decision not based upon ascertainment of facts and their merits and therefore not based on justice. *Europe has drifted helplessly, but perceptibly, towards a future war.*" He finds comfort in the protests of the "smaller nations" against the League's ineptitude; and, in answer to the final question, "Is the blow to the League fatal?" finds the best that can be said is, "That happily is not yet certain." We beg our readers to compare this statement with our editorial analysis of the affair in UNITY for September 27, pages 19-21. It is a perfect vindication of all that we have said.

We wonder to how many it has occurred that the condition of Europe today, in its outward political and military aspects at least, is amazingly like that of the Napoleonic era of more than a century ago. Now, as then, France is the dictator of the continent. This dictatorship is based on great military victory, and maintained by predominant military power. Various small countries—Poland, Roumania, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia, etc.—play today the part of the numerous dependent and contributory sovereignties set up by the Emperor Napoleon in his period of splendor. Germany is again broken, exploited, humiliated—ground down into the dust by the triumphant and ruthless power of the French. England, to be sure, is now technically on the side of France and not of Germany, and here the parallel seems to break down. But every development since Versailles has been in the direction of dissolving the Anglo-French alliance, and swinging England to the German side of the existing struggle. It is just here that the Napoleonic comparison becomes enormously interesting, and pregnant with prophecies for the future. The great Emperor in 1807 was everywhere supreme in Europe, as his successor Poincaré, is today. In 1812 his power was threatened; in 1813, it was broken; in 1815, it was swept away forever. What were the forces that cast to ruin the greatest military genius of history at the head of the most tremendous military machine that had ever been developed up to that time? First, England, set as always definitely against the supreme power on the continent. Secondly, Russia, once the friend of France, then made her enemy by betrayal and hostility. Thirdly, Ger-

many, aroused from death by the revolt of an insulted and outraged people. Let France today ponder this parallel, and profit from this example! Unless her present policy is changed, and her present spirit reborn, she will be overwhelmed, like Napoleon in 1813-15, by a coalition of England, Russia and Germany, representing now, as formerly, the conscience of mankind.

We imagine that few of our readers take with any seriousness today the reports published in the public press about conditions in Bolshevik Russia. We have done our utmost in these columns to lay bare the flood of lies, slanders, and wanton vilifications which have passed for Russian news from the day when Lenin was described as a German agent to the recent day of multifarious reports about religious persecution. If our readers are not immune from this kind of stuff by this time, we are surely not to blame. Lest there be some few, however, who are still liable to be deceived, we beg to call attention to the article by Norman Hapgood in the October number of *Hearst's International,* entitled "Why Lie About Russia?" Mr. Hapgood is a graduate of Harvard University, an author of notable books, and a distinguished editor. He is one of the most enlightened men, and incidentally one of the most trustworthy reporters, in America today—a liberal in the truest and highest sense of the word. He was recently in Russia for a period of months, accompanied by his wife who is a thorough student of Russian history and speaks the Russian language. This article, "Why Lie About Russia?" presents Mr. Hapgood's testimony as to what is going on in that country.

"Most ordinary people and most of our politicians," says Mr. Hapgood, "know as much about Russia as they do about curved space. . . . Instead of trying to understand a situation wholly new in the world, we have been content to sit on our tails and bark. If there is any example of ignorance more complete, what is it?"

He then tells what he saw and learned. He bears testimony to the intelligence, devotion and open-mindedness of the Bolshevik leaders. Dissenting absolutely from Communism, which he says has failed, he makes plain the noble success of the Communists in organizing the reconstruction of Russian society. He tells a story of the work for education which would put to shame the slanderers of Russia, if these had any shame. Of religious conditions he states what every well-informed observer has stated, that religion is free, that the Living Church is a noble movement for spiritual regeneration, and that persecution is as much a fairy tale as the nationalization of women. "The government punished priests only as, and just as, it punished other people for espionage, counter-revolution and treason." Let any one not convinced upon this question, turn to Mr. Hapgood's article which is the most important contribution to recent knowledge upon this momentous question that we have.

We have made no comment in these columns on the projected British naval base at Singapore, other than referring to certain economic aspects of the enterprise, for the reason that we know too little about the geography of that part of the world to justify an opinion. It has seemed to us astonishing and regrettable that, within five years after "the war to end war" and within a year and a half after the Washington Disarmament Conference, the greatest naval base on the planet should be placed under construction by Great Britain. Furthermore, we have all along found it utterly impossible to reconcile this business with the agreements entered into by England, Japan and the United States at the much-tooted Washington gathering. We have had no doubt that reconciliation was possible, for we have never seen a militarist who could not prove that armaments were everywhere and wholly in the interests of peace; but to our poor, ignorant, perverted, pacifist cranium the authorization of the Singapore base was just a plain, open violation of the Washington agreements, nothing more and nothing less. To be sure, we have never thought that the agreements amounted seriously to as much as a hill of beans; but still, an agreement is an agreement, and, whether worth anything or not, should be kept! Now comes a statement of opinion on this matter which, unlike anything that we might say, is authoritative. No man alive knows more about international problems today than Mr. E. D. Morel, editor of the London *Foreign Affairs* and one of UNITY's English representatives. Speaking of Singapore in the House of Commons, Mr. Morel declares that England is "starting in the Far East, amid the open resentment of Japan and the cold suspicion of the United States, an era of competitive naval bases." He adds that this project "(negatives) in effect, although it does not in fact conflict with the letter of the Washington Conference—*negativing, in effect, the whole spirit and purpose of that Conference.*"

There recently took place in New England a strike of the telephone operatives. Of the merits of this strike we are not informed. But on one side was a group of girls with small monetary resources and on the other the powerful and rich New England Telephone Company. The girls lost the strike. Their union was disrupted if not destroyed. One of the effective factors in their defeat was the coming to the aid of the Telephone Company of a considerable number of girls from the homes of the well-to-do. Among these were a number of college girls. They were paid high wages and were lavishly entertained at the best hotels. To them it was a lark. To the working girls it was a tragedy. To us it was a pitiful business. These more fortunate ones lent themselves to the task of beating the less fortunate sisters. The strike is now a thing of the past. But the memory of it and the means used in defeating it lives on. It has left a

legacy of hate and bitterness that will remain a fact to be reckoned with in the future. Some people seem to think that workers enter upon a strike with joyousness, that it is a sort of lark for them. It is nothing of the kind. It is mighty serious business. When the worker is the supporter of a family it is all too often a tragedy. It is the women and children who bear the burden. Theirs are the weary hours of waiting and the burden of maintenance of the home. The man or woman who acts as strike-breaker seldom sees these against whom he fights. If he really understood, he simply could not do it. When college students are massed for this sort of thing they may help win the strike for the owners, but they are at the same time making serious problems for the future.

We do not need to remind our readers of our contempt for official church statistics. When we get elaborate reports showing the amazing growths in church membership, for example, we don't believe them, and make no bones of saying so. Some of our friends have been much disturbed by this skeptical habit of ours, and have asked for evidence to support our doubts. We have insisted that this evidence is all about us; anybody who has any eyes at all can see that, as the late Bishop of Michigan, the Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, put it, "organized Christianity stands at a supreme crisis." We are always glad, however, when exact investigations sustain our views. Hence the satisfaction with which we noted the article by Rae D. Henkle in the September 29 issue of *The Christian Herald!* Observe, please, what is here set down:

> "The 1922 church census," says Mr. Henkle, ". . . showed a good increase in the net membership of the churches in the United States. *At the same time,* ministers in all parts of the country were complaining of decreased attendance at services. Membership . . . means little unless it be a working membership, and attendance at services is one of the signs of activity."

Exactly! Now note some real facts as contrasted with census facts! In a careful investigation, with results duly recorded and tabulated, it was found that 36 per cent of the people of the country are regular church attendants, while *64 per cent* are non-attendants or go "once in a while." "Nearly two-thirds of the men and women interviewed in towns and cities of every size from the Atlantic to the Pacific, do not go to church, or, if they go, are simply casual attendants." Yet the church statistics experts tell us of increasing memberships, crowded churches, and a population 80 to 90 per cent enrolled or in touch with religious organizations. It's a lie, and should be plainly published as a lie. Some day we will have a religious organization which will dare to tell the truth about itself. Then a step will have been taken toward a real renaissance of spiritual life.

In an important article in *The Methodist Review* (July-August, 1923), Dr. Fred P. Corson attempts to describe and interpret the present-day community church movement. Looking over the religious field here in America, he finds five different types of "community churches," so-called:

(1) The federated church.
(2) The "Pepperell" type (referring to the church in Pepperell, Mass.).
(3) The union or independent church.
(4) The latitudinarian church.
(5) The denominational community church.

Speaking of John Haynes Holmes as the sponsor of what he calls the "latitudinarian" type of community church, the writer says:

> Its chief characteristic is that membership in the community forms the basis of membership in the church. Thus, if a man is a member of the community, by virtue of that fact he is a member of the church. No community church at present accepts this form fully.

But Dr. Corson is not primarily interested in the differences between these varying expressions of a single movement. What concerns him—and rightly so!—is the spirit or ideal which is common to them all.

> The spirit working in our religious life within the denomination, which has broken out here and there in these community church organizations, forms the most significant problem before the church today. It is the spirit which demands unity of effort on the part of Protestantism in its service to God and to the community. The inefficiency of denominational competition is calling forth from both laity and clergy a demand for wider co-operation on the part of Christian people. The wastefulness of overlapping and over-churching emphasizes the need for reorganizing our denominational activities in all communities.

Nothing could be truer than this. When are our denominations going to begin?

With the passing of the years we are more and more impressed with the beauty of the world. The stars shine with more brightness, the mountains are more majestic, the valleys more peaceful, the lakes more lovely, and the little hills more enchanting than ever they were in the days of our boyhood. The wayside flowers seem to grow in beauty and the songs of birds become sweeter year by year. The mystery of the moon deepens and the splendor of the sun increases as the months go by. And with it all comes the question with greater and greater force—Why should man concentrate so much of his energy upon spoiling it all? At the turn of the road, our view of a charming valley is cut off by a hideous billboard. The rippling brook is interrupted in its course to the sea by a sprawling mess of tin cans and other refuse. The roadside, sprinkled with colorful flowers, is destroyed to make a racing speedway. The sky is filled with smoke to advertise a brand of cigarettes. We are moved again and again to sing, "Where every prospect pleases, and only man is vile."

Reminiscence

Had a good visit at New Haven. . . . As the machinery for the change in the A. U. A. government chugged through so easily—not a dissenting vote—I thought of the old days when you fought to budge the mass. Do you now and then think of those times, or are you too occupied with the present and future to gaze back?—*Extract from a private letter.*

"The old days"! Yes, I am surely aging. There *are* "old days" now in my life; and in spite of abundant occupation "with the present and future," there come increasingly the times when I "gaze back" and think, sometimes fondly, sometimes sadly, sometimes with vast amusement, of "the days that are no more." Growing old! I don't feel a single ache in my bones, not a trace of weariness of the flesh, not a tremor of fear at new ideas and revolutionary proposals. I can eat, sleep, talk, think, fight with as glorious a zest and as huge an enjoyment of life as ever. But that remorseless calendar tells its tale, for all that; and now and then an event takes place which is like the swish of a scythe through ripe grass.

Such an event was the recent meeting of the General Unitarian Conference at New Haven, when John Lathrop, Chairman of the Council, Frederick R. Griffin, Chairman of the Committee, and their colleagues put through with rare legislative skill as fine a piece of reconstructive work as has been seen in the recent history of organized Christianity in America. Changes long desired, abuses long crying out for reform, advances long advocated by open and progressive minds, all were handled with a superb combination of tact and courage. The changes were made, the abuses wiped out, the advances achieved, and the Unitarian body thereby for the first time made representative, democratic and truly free. And these drastically fundamental transformations—ending the career, among other things, of the General conference itself—were all accomplished, mind you, *by a unanimous vote!* If that isn't statesmanship, I don't know where in this modern world to find it.

Well, it is this event which has awakened memories of other days when there was not so much statesmanship abroad. How my mouth widens toward my ears, and how the chuckles begin to rattle in my throat, as I think of the years, now long ago, when a little group of us used to march up to the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association in Tremont Temple, Boston, with our bills of reform in our hands, and year after year, as regular as the circling sun, get soundly thrashed for our pains! As I look back upon those stormy, exultant days, I cannot see that we gained an inch, ever chipped off or wore away a millionth part of an inch of the oppostion against us. There stood Samuel A. Eliot, tall, handsome, suave, calm, unperturbable, determined; around him were rank on rank of Life Members of the Association, an "old guard" recruited from every first parish within a hundred miles of Boston. Together they swept us magnificently aside. Like a giant brushing away mosquitos, they swept us—and turned easily to other and important matters. In time it got to be a kind of ceremony, this slaughter of the radicals. The ritual, or order of business, of the annual meetings would no more have been complete without this occasion of "innocent merriment," than it would have been complete without the benediction. Perhaps we served some useful purpose, after all; at least we must have helped the absent-minded to know that they were in the right pew.

As I see again those days in the pleasant haze of memory, I can see that nobody was quite so much to blame for our ever-recurring defeats as ourselves. There was tremendous passion, real sincerity, perhaps some courage in what we did, but no preparation. We enormously overestimated our powers, and as enormously underestimated those of the opposition. We took ourselves with portentous seriousness, but regarded the Life Members with a levity which was positively scandalous. Above all we had no statesmanship—no tact, patience, knowledge of forces, direction of management. We simply went smash-bang at our goal, knowing that the Lord loved righteousness, and certain that he would not desert his own. It was magnificent—perhaps; but surely it wasn't war.

This is a good part of the story, no doubt about that! And yet, it isn't all. The very action of the General Conference in September, which is the occasion of this old man's homily, shows clearly enough that the cards were stacked against us. Even some real measure of regard for reason as well as passion might not have availed to save us from the fate which doomed us year after year. For example!

It was one of our proposals, those days, that the American Unitarian Association should hold certain of its meetings outside of Massachusetts, in parts of the country away from the Brahmin influence of Boston—a proceeding now precisely provided for in the reforms just voted by the General Conference! How well I remember the alarm precipitated by this revolutionary suggestion! First parish eyes looked upon us as though we were a gang of kidnappers seeking to snatch some infant from its mother's arms. Just how our resolution was handled, I do not recall; the details have quite faded from my mind. But I remember the climax all right—when the snuffer was clapped down upon our flaming candle. It was a committee report, offered by the Hon. John D. Long, Ex-Governor, Ex-Secretary of the Navy, eminent lawyer, beloved gentleman and scholar, that did the business. With solemnity befitting so awful an occasion, with authority becoming so famous a statesman and so successful a lawyer, Mr. Long declared to the frightened multitude that the resolution was interesting, suggestive, perhaps desirable, but, alas! it was illegal. The

American Unitarian Association was not allowed by law to meet and transact its business outside the state. The Association was a Massachusetts corporation, and must therefore meet in Massachusetts and not elsewhere. It was too bad! I recall a tear in Mr. Long's voice—but the law was the law, and that was the end on't!

Oh, dear, how mystified I was! I knew that there were plenty of Massachusetts corporations that met outside the state whenever they wanted to—I had a list of some of them in my pocket! I had a lawyer's opinion that the resolution was entirely legal, and could be passed and acted upon. But who was I to say these things, or even to believe them? Of course, I know better now. I know that when a measure is declared by eminent legal authority to be illegal or unconstitutional, it is not necessarily so at all. It is just simply an inconvenient, or undesirable or dangerous proposal—or at least is so regarded. When the Supreme Court, for example, declares that a Child Labor law is "unconstitutional," it is using an obvious euphemism to cover up its conviction that the law in question is an undesirable law. The judges don't believe in it, and therefore they say it is "unconstitutional." The same thing is true in this case of John D. Long. There was nothing illegal about the resolution. A lawyer who believed in it, found it legal enough. But Mr. Long didn't believe in it, and therefore he found it illegal. It was all perfectly simple, and—had I been wise enough to see it—excruciatingly funny. But I didn't know much in those days; I took things, myself included, and also John D. Long, with deadly seriousness; and so tore my hair, ground my teeth, wept bitter tears in anguish and despair, and did nothing. Now the years have rolled by, John D. Long is in his grave, times and tempers have changed—and, lo and behold, this Massachusetts corporation, the American Unitarian Association, is going to meet wherever it wants to in the future!

No, it wasn't all our fault, those smashing defeats year after year. We were foolish—but so were some others. And now Time, as ever, laughs. He laughs at us because we thought we were so weak; he laughs at some others because they thought they were so strong. Time, after all, is the arbiter. So why get excited, either exultant or anguished, at the outcome of any one particular fight at any one particular moment? Not the outcome of the fight, but the fight itself, or rather its cause, is what matters. If it's a good fight, for a good cause, it's never beaten, though it be defeated a thousand times. If it's a bad fight, for a bad cause, it's never victorious, though it win again and yet again. Time weights the balances always on the side of truth and right. That's one of the reasons why we know there's a God in heaven—and on the earth! I didn't know this in "the old days." But I know it today; so, while I fight as vigorously as ever, and without quarter asked or given, it is with patience, utter joy, and never failing confidence. What I do not win today, because of my weaknesses and follies, another will win tomorrow. So all is well. "Fight on, fare ever!"

But to return, in closing, to New Haven, and to the General Unitarian Conference! It was a great meeting—epochal in the history of a great movement. And to those most largely responsible for achievement—John Lathrop and Frederick R. Griffin—UNITY gives affectionate salutation. God bless them both, and lead them to even "greater things than these"!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Jottings

In a certain town in Maine is a monument raised in memory of the townsmen who died in the Spanish War. The front face of the four-sided shaft bears an appropriate inscription to this effect. When the World War came to its end, the town affixed to a second face of the shaft a bronze tablet bearing the names of those who were conscripted into service in 1917. This leaves two faces still available for the next two wars. But, from the present look of things, the town would have done wisely had it built an octagonal instead of a square monument.

We note with regret that A. Mitchell Palmer is still insane. "Lots of people," he says, "ridiculed me for the drastic steps I took against the Communists, but today the peril is not lessening." Symptoms of ultimate recovery may be seen, however, in his further statement that "there's no danger of their overthrowing the American Government." There was a time when the former Attorney-General saw violent and successful revolution immanent daily.

All the colleges report record-breaking enrollments except Clark University, which has a Freshman class of 55 this year as compared with 88 last year. President Atwood, of ill fame, is reaping the harvest of his sowing.

In view of all that has been going on in Oklahoma, it is evident, is it not, that the Filipinos are unfit for self-government.

The biggest bomb yet devised for use by an aeroplane, has just been perfected. It weighs two tons, is 13½ feet long, and in a recent experimental test threw up a column of earth 1,000 feet, and left a hole 64 feet in diameter and 20 feet deep. It is a glorious thing to know that this bomb was developed by the

Aircraft Ordnance Department of the United States Army!

In the Boston *Transcript* for September 22nd we read the following item:

> The Congregational Church, Harrison, Me., has rejected a proposal of the Free Baptist Church for a union in the form of a community church. The newer members wish for the amalgamation; while those of longer standing voted in opposition.

Thus it has been before, thus it will be again; but progress still manages, somehow or other, to progress.

The divorce rate in America has risen from one divorce in 9.3 marriages, as in 1916, to one divorce in 7.6 marriages, as in 1922. South Carolina recorded no divorces, as the law forbids divorce for any cause. Does this mean a higher standard of morality and a purer family life in South Carolina than elsewhere? We doubt it.

Lloyd-George, interpreting his late international policy, declares that he was planning to do to the Greeks only what he did to the Irish. This is more terrible than we had imagined. Who does not shudder at the thought?

J. H. H.

A Great Message from India

[The August number of *Welfare,* a very admirable monthly magazine published in Calcutta, brings a message from the Non-co-operative movement in India,—I think the most important message that has come to us since the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi. It is almost or quite true that all the world, friends and foes alike, are eagerly watching the great Hindu leader. His career has perplexed and amazed everybody. For a time England was greatly alarmed. Would he overthrow her rule in India? Would he do it at once? Or would he plant in the minds of the Indian people such moral ideals and rouse in them such indomitable "soul-force" as would by degrees neutralize her laws and her control, and eventually compel her to leave. When she threw him into prison, it was an act of desperation. Dared she do it? Yet what else could she do? Would that act bring a crisis? Would he give a word of command which would cause every Indian to fold his arms, refuse to obey or serve any Englishman and thus end all? When the prison doors were shut upon him and nothing, nothing outward, nothing that men's eyes could see, happened, England drew a long breath of relief. Forthwith she began reporting to the world that Gandhi's power had gone, and his Non-co-operative movement had collapsed. This is the word that she has been repeating ever since and is repeating now. As no clear voice has contradicted it, and as she has the ear of the world, her word is widely believed.

At last an authoritative message comes to us from one who knows and dares to speak. It is not directly from Mr. Gandhi; his jailers will allow him to send out no message. But it is from a man in India who understands the great leader as thoroughly as does any other, who possesses his spirit as fully and deeply as any other, and who can speak with as much authority as any other. It is from an Englishman, a great Englishman, whom all India loves and trusts. It is from Rev. C. F. Andrews, who for many years was a missionary of the Church of England; but who is no longer a missionary of that Church, but of the Christ whose spirit he sees so wonderfully manifested in Mahatma Gandhi.

In the August number of *Welfare,* which has just reached this country, we have an article from Mr. Andrews (or rather an address), lately delivered by him in England, where he has recently gone to plead the cause of the Indians in East Africa who are being driven from their homes there by the British exploiters of that land. Does he tell us that the Non-co-operative movement in India is failing, or that Gandhi's influence is waning? Not so. He assures us that the great leader's power was never so great as now, that his spirit is going down deep into the hearts of literally the whole nation, to a degree that it is impossible adequately to realize. His words (his address) instead of being a wail or an apology, is a pean of joy and hope and triumph. He entitles it "What Is Happening in India Today?" No more assuring message has ever come from that great land. It ought to be published in the most widely circulated papers in America,—which, alas! are closed to it. But, thank Heaven! at least it can find a place in UNITY. The address, somewhat condensed, follows.—J. T. SUNDERLAND.]

What Is Happening in India Today?

By C. F. ANDREWS.

I shall try, as far as I am able, to explain what I feel to be some of the great underlying principles which are moving Indian life today, and are making that life very full of hope and encouragement, giving to it a glorious prospect for the future. With regard to India, I cannot tell you how strongly I believe, that we are today witnessing a noble birth of a new nation; we are hailing a new dawn; we are becoming a new people. I believe that the great underlying reason of this has been the Movement which has been initiated by Mahatma Gandhi. It goes by the name of "Non-co-operation." In its political aspect it has received much criticism. While the political side is important, the movement has gone far deeper than any political strategy; it has gone deep down into the hearts of the masses. Today, as I have seen it with my own eyes, it is stirring the masses of the people in a way that certainly, in all the twenty years I have been in India, I have never seen any other movement stir them. It is really a mass movement. I think there can be no doubt of that. It has gone down as deep as possible among the masses, and in the villages; and it is there that it is winning today its greatest victories and its noblest triumphs.

Let me describe to you two or three of the scenes that I have witnessed.

First of all, I would take you to a village, which was untouched, even by a ripple, before this great Movement of Mahatma Gandhi came into existence. There the villagers met together and I joined in that gathering, because the heart and soul of the gathering was to get rid in that village of the curse of drink, which has desecrated it and dishonored it and was still clutching at its throat with terrible force. There, if you had been with me, you might have seen the whole village uniting in one spirit—not merely the poorer villagers, but the landlords, the *zamindars.* We were all seated on the open ground in the moonlight. First of all, there were some hymns sung to God, and then one speaker after another got up and spoke most movingly, telling how the Mahatma had wished that every villager in India should become free from the twin curses of drink and opium. You could see all the villagers moved by that appeal, spoken to them in their own mother tongue. Then, at last, one villager got up and said that he would give up drink for good. He was one who would be called an "untouchable." He was seated at the very edge of the meeting, on the ground; but when he got up and said he would abandon drink, our chairman, who was a Brahmin of the highest rank, went forward to him—the "untouchable," and embraced him.

Then one leader after another went to him—the

zamindars, Brahmins, the high-caste people—and all those "untouchables," who were present, were accepted by the high-caste people. Then the men sat down again and the chairman asked the people whether there was anything they wanted to say. One of the villagers, a *ryot* (a farmer) at last got up and spoke with great timidity. There was a noticeable trepidation in his voice. He was an old man, and he said in the presence of them all: "Yes, I have something to say tonight, that I never dared to say before; and I want to say it." The *zamindars,* the landlords, who were there, applauded him and said, "Be brave, say out what you have to say." Then he turned round on the landlords. "I want *you* to give up one thing," he said. "We have been promising to give up the drink. Now you promise to cease in the future from oppressing the poor." Then the *zamindars* nodded their heads and one got up and said: "We confess before you, our brothers, that we have oppressed you; and we are going to oppress you no longer. In the name of Mahatma Gandhi we promise." That scene I saw with my own eyes.

Now let me take you to another scene. It is a tragic picture; but still it has a beauty of its own, and I must tell you about it; for it will explain much to you. You know how the one message, which has run throughout the length and breadth of India has been that there must be no violence. We know, alas! how that message at first was defeated; how violence did break out at Bombay on the Prince's visit, and in Madras, and again in the riot at Chauri Chaura. We all know it, and we know how those acts of violence were condemned in the sternest possible way, in every way that was possible by Mahatma Gandhi. But I want to explain one thing, especially to my English friends, and that is, that India today is very different from India ten years ago. Ten years ago, I remember well, how, when there was anarchy abroad, the Viceroy could not make a night's railway journey without torch lights at every four hundred yards along the railway track of some hundreds of miles, in order that there might not be any bomb explosion. I have seen myself those torches all along the railway line at night. They were a weird sight. I remember well how each Viceroy and Governor had to be guarded against bombs and assassination.

That was the state of things ten years ago. But today this is past and over. The Viceroy and the Governors go about without any fear of bombs. They have nothing to fear, because deep in the heart of the people today there has been sown this wonderful truth which has been given to them with the very life-blood of Mahatma Gandhi, the truth that violence can never overcome evil; that suffering alone can bring success; that the only success worth anything in the world is the success that is won through patient endurance; through what has been called in India by that grand Indian word, which is impossible to translate—*Ahimsa.* The word means non-violence; but it means even more than that, it means harmlessness, innocence; and its positive characteristic is love.

And here I think I ought to try to explain what is really the inner meaning of the Non-co-operation Movement itself. I am not now speaking of its political side. I am dealing with its deeper spiritual side, and I want you to understand the appeal and beauty of that spirit. I want you also to understand how intensely I believe that the spirit behind it is supremely Christian, even if not called by that name. Let me try to explain what I mean. Mahatma Gandhi says that we must all be soldiers fighting against evil, and the great duty of love, the one thing we are in the world for, is to conquer evil. That is our duty; our responsibility. He tells us how he has learned that in the final conquest of evil there are always three principles at work; three things which have to be done; and before they are done they have to be learned. The first is, never to retaliate; never to return blow for blow; never to return violence for violence. "Evil," he says, "cannot be overcome by evil; force cannot be overcome by force, but only by love." That is his first principle. I find, in the "Sermon on the Mount," the same thing expressed by Christ in these words, "Resist not evil"; that is to say (as the passage clearly shows), resist it not by force. That is the first principle; you have to suffer, you have to endure, you have to bear. But evil cannot be conquered simply passively, it must be overcome by the moral conquest, too. While we *must not* resist evil *physically,* we *must* resist evil *morally.* We must resist evil with all the moral force in our being. We must not tamper with it. We must not tolerate it. We must not allow it, without protest, to run its course. We must non-co-operate with it; and that is where he took the word "non-co-operation" from. When we see evil, we must refuse to co-operate with it. It must be made clear that we shall have nothing to do with it. We must be as clear as possible about this active moral resistance. That is the second stage. And then, last of all, we must win the evil-doer by sacrifice. We must be prepared to go to any length of sacrifice in order to make the evil-doer understand evil. He will only understand evil, when he sees to what length we can go in sacrifice to save him from it.

That is really the meaning of non-co-operation today in India. What Mahatma Gandhi wished to do was to make England understand by the strongest act he could, that such a thing as the brutality which happened at Amritsar (the shooting down in cold blood, by British soldiers under command of a British general of hundreds of unarmed and innocent men, women, and children) must never happen again. This is what made him start the non-co-operation movement. I was with him when he started it, and he explained it again and again to me, until I could understand it myself and explain it to others.

What I feel to be coming out of the Movement is this. It is a fearlessness of sacrifice; a fearlessness of devotion; a fearlessness of suffering, such as we have not seen before. Men and women are suffering today in India, suffering for what they believe to be truth and right. They are not offering resistance by force, but they are suffering; they are proclaiming their message of love by that very silent suffering, which they are enduring—with Mahatma Gandhi in prison; with hundreds, it may be thousands of them now, in prison with him. They are proclaiming their message silently; and we, British men, in England, Scotland, and Ireland should understand what they are suffering for, why they are suffering. We should not turn a deaf ear to that suffering. We should realize that there is something wrong in ourselves. We should try to find out what that wrong is and then seek to put it right. That is what we in England should understand. I wish we could do it, and not merely say, as I have heard many say, since I arrived in this country, "The Non-co-operation Movement is dead." It saddens me when I hear that; because it means that all this suffering

has not been understood. Yet it ought to be understood, if friendship between England and India is to survive the strain of these years.

Let me give you one more picture, perhaps two, of what is coming to birth in India out of this movement. You all know how, just as the hideous curse of drunkenness is the misery of England, just as in China there is the curse of opium, so there is one curse in India, a curse upon that wonderful land of spiritual beauty; it is the curse of untouchability. It is the curse that has remained for ages on our dear people there, who are still treated as outcasts, and that curse has never yet been wholly broken. But thank God it has been broken in part. You simply cannot imagine what has happened in the last two years. Some of you before me are Indian students studying here in England. When you go back to India, you, who have been here three or four years, when you go back, especially to south India, and see the wonderful things happening today, I am quite certain that you will thank God with all your heart that Mahatma Gandhi has raised his voice and has said that there is no *Swaraj* (real freedom and self rule) for India until the curse of untouchability has been taken away. I wish I could tell you vividly some of the things which I have witnessed. Mahatma Gandhi among the Pariahs, embracing them with all his heart, pouring on them the wealth of his affection; Mrs. Gandhi (who once shared with her fellow caste people the horror of even going near to the untouchables) now freely giving to them all the mother love of her heart. She is doing a wonderful work in India today in trying to bring this curse to an end. Throughout the breadth and length of India there is a movement, a great movement, which will in the end triumph and take away from our dear land that terrible curse, the curse of untouchability.

I want to call your attention to the power of the non-co-operation movement in another direction. You know that ever since the coming of the Mohammedans into India, many centuries ago, there has been more or less of antagonism between them, over religious beliefs and usages, just as there has been much antagonism between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Europe. In India as in Europe this antagonism has at times caused trouble and even riots. What is the situation in India today? Since the proclamation of his gospel of non-violence and love by Mahatma Gandhi the spirit of antagonism, distrust and enmity has passed away to a most wonderful degree, and there is now everywhere a spirit of friendship and brotherhood, not only between Hindus and Moslems, but between all religious faiths—Moslems, Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians—such as was never known before.

And now before I close, I want to take you to another scene in India which to me is dearest and best of all. It reveals the beauty of the India that is to be, the India of the future. I refer to the *Santiniketan,* in Bolpur, the "Home of Peace," the living fountain of spiritual influence, the growing religious education center which Rabindranath Tagore is building up for India and all mankind. There is our poet, the one we call our *Gurudev*—our Great Teacher. He is there rearing the structure of the future harmony of the races, the meeting of East and West in an ideal life of fellowship and service, in the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi, in the spirit of Christ.

Let me, because my heart is there, try to describe to you for one moment, the beauty of that scene at *Santiniketan.* Some of you must have read how the poet's father, the Great Rishi, in his old age, came one night to that spot, where there were just two trees on a rising ground and nothing else all round but the open sky and the wide earth. And there he sat, as the eventide was coming on, and the great joy of the presence of God came into his life and into his heart. All that night he passed in prayer and meditation, filled with that joy of the presence of God—so filled to the full that the long night passed like a moment in a dream of joy. And when morning came he said: "This is my place of rest; this is my *Santinikatan.*" While he was there, seated in meditation, day after day and night after night, the people of the neighborhood came near to him and he loved them and blessed them. Then, the story tells, how one day, a murderer, a robber, a *dacoit* thinking that he was an ascetic, who was hiding some treasure beneath the tree, crept near to him with his sword drawn to kill the Maha Rishi. But when he saw the face of the aged saint, in all its beauty, he was overcome and fell down on his face before him and said, "I came to murder you, but now I come to serve you." He became a follower of the Rishi, and in turn, that murderer became a saint before he died. That is the place where Rabindranath Tagore is dwelling; that is where he is building up his *Visvabharati*—his World University—the place where all the races of the world may come together and unite in harmony, fellowship and service, and in their common love of India, the "mother land" of the world! It is there, today, that we have men and women, not merely from every part of India, but from China, Japan, Burma, Ceylon, from Russia, Switzerland, Germany, France, England, Scotland and America. These are all uniting, as a family, in the simplest of simple lives and in all the beauty of the atmosphere of peace. It is to this *Asram,* this Home of Peace, that my heart is always turning. Night after night, I dream of it when I sleep. And when I awake in the morning, I think of it all through the day. How I long for the time when I shall no more be "lobbying" in the British House of Commons, writing letters to the papers, and answering correspondence, regarding the injustices done to the Indians in East Africa. I shall have the joy of my life, when I can go back beneath the *sal* trees and the *amloki* groves and hear the choristers of the *Asram* singing, before we go to sleep, their evening hymn; or can sit silently under the trees listening to the poet's message when he speaks of love and peace. Believe me, *there* is the true future of India! *There* is what India stands for in the future! She is to be the meeting-place of East and West. Is she not to be the meeting-place of all the world? In the beauty of her silent nights and in the loveliness of her quietude, we Anglo-Saxons of the West shall be able, shall we not? to learn to give up something of our restlessness, and to understand something of a peace which comes only to the quiet soul. And from there, I believe, will come forth once more, in all its beauty, the true message to the world of love and sacrifice. I believe that India is to teach the world what Christ truly taught; what life Christ truly lived; what Christ truly was and is. For in the West, what I feel so much on my return to England is this, that we in England and in Europe have lost for a time the Christ; we have lost him in our belief in force, in our belief in violence and war; we have lost him in our search for wealth, and for more wealth, and for ever more wealth. We have lost him in our greed for possessions and empires and colonies and all the rest. So we have to find him again.

We have to find him, who said, "Come unto me all ye who are heavy laden and I will give you rest. Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest to your soul; for my yoke is easy and my burden is light."

It is this meek and lowly Christ, who suffered on the Cross that India herself is learning to understand more perfectly today, learning through Mahatma Gandhi and through the Non-co-operation Movement, learning through Rabindranath Tagore, his Home of Peace and his World University of Universal Brotherhood, and learning also through her own suffering and sacrifice as a nation in pursuit of her own spiritual ideals. India is learning, in her own crucifixion, to understand the Christ and his Cross. And, may we not dream and hope and believe that in the end she may be able in some real degree to *teach* Christ, to *be* the Christ, to the *world!*

If War Were Outlawed

It is natural that first reactions to the Levinson-Borah plan of outlawing war should be largely hostile. The reasons, however, are psychological rather than practical or logical. We have been thinking for a long time along other lines. The scheme seems too simple and too thorough-going. It seems almost like a trick, a magic wand. The real difficulties are that our minds are so full of other plans that it is hard to switch them into new tracks. We have been thinking in terms of gradual approaches, of "steps" towards an eventual abolition, by arbitration treaties; conciliation courts; reduction of armaments; condemning the guilty nation after war has broken out; political combinations to enforce peace by coercion through superior force; educating the moral sentiments of the people; economic reforms to do away with causes of national rivalries, etc. The new plan moves on different lines. It is not opposed to the others, but it does cut across them. It attacks the problem of war from a different angle. Hence the difficulties are those of switching from one line of thought to another.

I propose to offer some considerations which may facilitate the needed transfer of thought. One unfavorable reaction is due to the fact that this is a legal scheme, a lawyers' plan. And we live in a time of skepticism about law and its efficacy. The causes are obvious. In many directions laws are so constant in their influence that we take them for granted. We do not note them any more than we think of the air we breathe. In other respects social conditions have changed more rapidly than the legal system: at these points we are critical of law. But the only fundamental condition of the efficacy of any well thought out system of law is that it represent the general moral conviction of the community. Unless the moral sentiment of the world has reached the point of condemning war there is nothing that can be done about it. If it has reached this stage, then that conviction should be crystallized in law—in orderly authorized procedure. One may of course disbelieve in any and all international law. But if one believes at all in it, he is not asked to believe that law will work miracles. He is only required to think of the practical differences that will be made when the law makes war a crime instead of legitimizing it.

The fundamental difficulty at present is that moral conviction and sentiment have no channels of operation. Almost everyone is opposed to war in general. But almost everyone is also likely at some time to find himself in a position where he must either assent to some particular war, or place himself in hostility to the action and law of his own country. We find ourselves in a tragic moral predicament. Either after having accepted the protection of the community and enjoyed its benefits, one has to deny responsibility to it when it feels that it most needs his support, or one must join in support of what his conscience declares in general to be a thorough evil. When wars were waged chiefly by governing classes and hired soldiers it was much easier to salve individual conscience. Under present conditions the moral dilemma is forced home to every civilian, man or woman. When war is a crime by the law of nations, conscience is on the side of the law of one's community and law is on the side of conscience. The warlike people will then be the non-patriotic and the criminals. The pacifist then becomes the active patriot-loyal citizen, instead of an objector, a nuisance and a menace, or a passive obstructionist. The appeasement of the world can never be brought about as long as the public conscience and public law remain at odds with each other.

The case is the same with industrial appeasement. The argument that it is fantastic to outlaw war until the economic causes that bring about war have been radically altered puts the cart before the horse. It is fantastic to suppose that serious attention to the causes of economic evils is going to be possible as long as men live under the shadow of the war system. Consider the burden put upon efforts at social amelioration because of the use of eighty-five per cent of our national expenditures to carry the costs of past wars and to be in readiness for future ones. But even more important is the diversion of mental and moral energy, of interest and attention. How can the most ardent devotee of any project of basic economic and social reorganization expect to get even a fair hearing for his ideas as long as the shadow of war is over every social question? Let the reader run over any list of such plans, from socialism and the single tax to fundamental changes in education, and then reflect upon the extent to which discussion, experiment and execution are compromised and hindered by problems and issues connected with the menace of war. The more one directs his attention to this phase of the matter, the more one will be convinced that instead of postponing the consideration of war till some reform has been accomplished, we should get war out of the way in order that the reform may have a fair chance. The larger part of the discouragement, cynicism and half-heartedness as to social advance which is now so prevalent reflects the overhanging danger of war. With war outlawed, it is safe to predict a great revival of liberal confidence and interest. Till this step in world appeasement has been taken, a feeling of uncertainty and futility will paralyze social effort.

Outlawry of war is equally a condition of political appeasement. One outstanding case may serve as an index. Most Americans believe in the right of France to security. We have refused to enter into political guarantees of that security for fear of being drawn into quarrels or wars. What better guarantee of the security of France can be had than the outlawry of war

by common consent of nations? With security gained in this non-political fashion, there would be an immense liberation of all the forces that make for amicable relations. The backbone of the strength of aggressive restorationists in Germany and aggressive imperialists in France would be broken. The straining of friendly feeling between this country and France due to mutual recriminations would cease. The United States could then engage in co-operative undertakings free from the fears that now restrain us. The minor states of Europe could settle down to the needed tasks of reconstruction. As long as war lowers, it is mere pious exhortation for us to urge Europe to settle down and "go to work."

Thus the outlawry of war is a condition of the permanent appeasement of international relations. It liberates the problem of future world organization from the complications that now attend it. At present any union or association of nations is likely to become in effect, whatever it be in name and profession, an old fashioned alliance for offensive and defensive purposes. Many persons who are opposed to the present League and who will remain opposed to any plan that contemplates an Over-State have an open mind or even an ardent desire for future co-operation among nations, when there is some assurance that this co-operation will not entangle us in political rivalries and animosities. Most persons who are "irreconcilables" with respect to schemes linked up with the decisions of Versailles, are anything but unreconciled to the idea of conference and co-operation. They are only waiting for a plan that is feasible. The outlawry of war clears the track and will make the consideration and development of such plans practicable.

Take one concrete case—that of our relation to the existing Court of International Justice. Those who urge our joining point out that such a court is distinctly an American contribution to international thought and law, and charge us with gross inconsistency for not joining. But the difficulty, be it real or unreal in fact, is its connection with the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations as it now exists. Senator Borah's resolution wisely provides that the Court, to be established on the basis of a re-codification of international law making war a public crime, may adapt any existing legal arrangement that in part serves as an international court of justice. The provision is obviously aimed at utilizing an existing court. But it is used on the basis of war outlawed and thus the fears that lead to present opposition to our participation are allayed. This is but one example of the difference that will be made in many movements toward a world federated in law and sentiment but not in political and military rule.

The argument that the plan to outlaw war makes no provision for sanctions of international coercion and penalization proves too much. It is a logical argument when it comes from those who believe in the war system. It sounds strangely at the mouths of those who believe in the substitution of international co-operation for international antagonism. They plead for the abolition of war—and for its retention as a means of coercion. For what else does an international army, even though called a police-force, mean in substance? Abolish war, and at the same time keep war up our sleeves! The contradiction is more than merely logical. It means the perpetuation of that attitude of mind that perpetuates war. If the moral conviction of the world will not restrain a nation from resort to war after its case has been publicly heard and adjudged and after it has given its own consent to the outlawry of war and to abiding by the decisions of the Court, the world will not get rid of war under any system. Moreover each nation engages to punish warbreeders as offenders against its own law. Internationally, there is open and complete reliance upon moral force with repudiation of war as a last resort. Domestically, there are the legal guarantees and methods that already operate. What else is there that can be effectually relied upon without committing ourselves to the maintenance of the war system as legal?

The New Republic. —*John Dewey.*

REST.

How endless is the night when tired eyes
  Too tired are to bear the weight of sleep.
  When limbs that ache still struggle up the steep,
With neither power to yield the task, nor rise.
And thoughts blow everywhere, as refuse flies
  When the March winds without direction sweep.
  Or consciousness goes plunging toward the deep
Unnerved as the hung felon when he dies.

Who thinks eternal night eternal rest
  Knows not of dreams, the incalculable length
Of tortured eons to a moment pressed.
  Rest, is to lie upon the breasts of strength
    And suck at life, and laugh, and play, forsooth,
    With the alert unweariedness of youth.

—Robert Whitaker.

Outlaw War Now!

We make it so hard to end war. It might be so simple.

If the Congress of the United States declared war to be a crime, then war for the United States would be a crime.

There are those who will say that the sixth commandment might be considered more important than a constitutional amendment. With that we are not concerned. The sixth commandment has failed up and down the world. Let's admit it and use a modern instrument.

"War shall be considered and is hereby declared a crime." Or, "It shall be a crime to settle social difficulties by bloodshed." These statements are so simple that a future race would regard them as kindergarten talk, and would wonder how we could have made such a fuss over safeguarding our continuance on the earth at all.

But now-a-days we cry: "We cannot do this alone. We cannot do this unless all the other nations do so too. And in any case, that would mean a league of nations on which so far we cannot agree. And besides——"

So the old fear is generated and fostered and kept alive by the United States of America as much as by any other nation refusing to act.

"Cannot do this alone!"

Why not?

The nation that would do this alone would go down the ages as the greatest people of the globe. Histories, treatises, novels, sermons innumerable would celebrate that splendid performance. Nothing that any nation has ever done would compare with it, in the eyes of a future which will shudder at the memory of war. It is an opportunity for a nation to perform, for the first time, the kind of action which individuals have been performing down the world's history—such as founding a great religion, discovering a great continent.

The time has come to outlaw war. The United States of America is pre-eminently, in power and in stature, the nation that can do it, and do it now.

ZONA GALE.

Written for International No More War Demonstration.

CORRESPONDENCE

LORD CECIL.

Editor of UNITY:

In the June 14th issue, UNITY refers to Lord Cecil as having been treated while in this country as "a sterilized baby" and as not having realized it. I am not the Noble Lord's advocate, but as a matter of public interest, I would like to inquire how UNITY discovered that he did not realize it. Was the periscope used to keep his realizations in view? Was a brain stethoscope used to keep the throbbings and whisperings of that and other organs within earshot? "Sterilized baby" may not be too strong an expression, but perhaps the noble lord is not well apportioned to his own strength?

Don't feel offended at this inquiry. I live in the wilderness where the passions have scope and breathing space, and if you ever pass this way, view the farm and the remains and the difficulties with which a farmer has to cope.

Yours truly,

W. A. COUTTS.

INDEPENDENCE DEAR TO THE FILIPINOS.

Editor of UNITY:

I read with pleasure the letter written by Mr. Sylvester Baxter in your paper. Mr. Baxter tells us that the Philippine Press Bureau propaganda is untruthful. And he tries to magnetize us with sweet words by saying that the great mass of the Philippine population has no conception of what freedom or independence really is. These things we never knew; and we are glad he is "educating" us. But we want to put his statements to a test, and see if they really turn white as he guarantees.

The pages of Philippine history for over three centuries under the Spanish rule are dotted with wars against Spain. These wars were the blossoms of an untiring effort made by the Filipinos to obtain what they consider to be dearer than life itself—independence. At the beginning of the American occupation in the islands, they struggled again for the same cause. In the next glimpse, the Filipinos tried to get the object of their toils by demonstrating their intelligence at the polls in compliance with conditions set by the American people for independence. The fact that the Philippine government under their own management has shown great efficiency and success indicates that they knew how to choose the right and best leaders. In the third glimpse, the Filipino people have established and commissioned through their representatives the Philippine Press Bureau to work for independence. This bureau has consecrated itself to the performance of its task. The above facts being true, I am at difficulty to imagine how Mr. Baxter can not find truth in the labors of the Filipinos for hundreds of years. Acts tell the truth better than words. And in reply to Mr. Baxter's bold utterances, I wish to say that the pathetic voice of the Filipinos for independence is not the explosion of an impulsive desire founded on ignorance. It gushes out from the heart of the whole nation.

Mr. Baxter has given us an inflated statement regarding the condition of the Philippine treasury. But nevertheless, taking his words at their face value, do we agree with his notion that an incidental and transient mishap in the Philippine treasury is the criteria for stability in the government? You will agree with me when I say that no government can escape from financial collapse under certain unavoidable situations. We do not need to go very far back in the history of ages past to see that this is true. For the condition of governments fluctuates as does the value of the dollar. If we take Mr. Baxter's criteria as the real criteria for stability, I dare say that hardly any nation today can be said to have a stable government.

Mr. Baxter speaks of Harrison, former Governor-General of the Philippines as the worst product of Tammany, ignorant of the first principles of competent administration. He further tells us that the first words of the Jones Bill, a bill which represents the judgment of the American people, were a glaring untruth. We wish Mr. Baxter to give us both words and deeds to prove the sincerity and truth in the above statements.

Mr. Baxter has insinuated his fear of Japan. I do not want to go into the details of this question, presenting the evidences that Japan will not prey upon the Philippines. But I do want to say that, according to foremost Philippine authorities, Japan is ready to sign any guarantee initiated by the United States for Philippine Independence.

In his thesis that the Filipino will long be in the childhood stage in administration, there is plenty of evidence that Mr. Baxter is ignorant of Philippine conditions. So far as competence in administration in any line is concerned, they compare favorably with the most advanced peoples on earth. Their "clean" elections, the wise administration of justice in their courts, their policies in education, sanitation, etc.—their wonderful progress—these are a solid proof that the Filipinos have clearly passed the childhood stage, and are now ready to embark and assume the responsibilities of mature national life. Of course, if Mr. Baxter's apparent desire to have the Philippines remain indefinitely under America will be realized, disregarding fairness and justice, the very principles which America is teaching the world, the Filipinos will long be in the childhood stage if this is what Mr. Baxter means by the term.

The question of Philippine independence is not a matter of argument, but a matter of conscience. There has already been too much argument, and further argument very likely spoils the truth. If we are to be true, let us look at it from every

angle with a heart free from prejudice and greed, and rich in sincerity and love. We can never do justice to the Filipino people and to the world unless we view the question not with an eye that is set just to find faults, but with a reliable telescope set to determine justice and truth. The Filipino people want their independence now, because they believe they are entitled to live their own life under no hand other than theirs. They are determined to accept whatever prize will be given them as a consequence of granting their freedom. The world has long watched America in her relation to the Philippines, noting her promises to the Filipino people; and it is a plain moral obligation for her to demonstrate her altruism, honor, leadership, sincerity, and truthfulness by granting the independence of the Filipinos.

ANACLETO SANTIAGO.

COURAGE AND DEVOTION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

591 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.

Editor of UNITY:

I hope you will be able to give space in an early issue to the following extracts from letters received from some of the political prisoners who have recently refused to accept conditional releases. There seems to be some little misunderstanding with the general public regarding the attitude of these men, and I would like to do what I can to make their position more clear and more widely understood. But I feel no words of mine can be more emphatic than are their own words on this subject. J. T. ("Red") Doran, whom I knew before he went to prison, and whom I have twice visited in Leavenworth, writes: " . . . To accept a life-time parole, returnable to prison at any moment, not necessarily even informed of what charges may be made against us, not on trial by jury, nor on proved charges, but merely upon the opinion or desire of a single individual—what 'freedom' is there in this for any self-respecting human being? Were I the only man in prison today, I would refuse such 'clemency.' When those two dying boys, Tabib and Quigley, have the grit to face death as they are doing, the least I can do is to stand by them, and *live* the principles I profess to believe in. Those men are no more 'guilty' than any of the others—in other words, no one of us is 'guilty' of any 'crime' whatsoever. We talk of 'solidarity,' of 'brotherhood,' but we must *live* these things if we deserve the name of *men*. I consider the Sacramento case an unknown Calvary. And I am convinced that if those on the outside of prison were a tithe as staunch. as courageous, as honest, as are the Sacramento boys, none of us would be in prison today. I am freer in here with such men as these are, than I could be anywhere else if I deserted them and the principle that keeps them here . . . Jesus had a living conviction and he lived true to it, and faced the consequences with courage. The outstanding fact of Jesus' whole life was sheer courage—loyalty to his conviction, to the truth, and courage to stand by it . . . "

Alexander Cournos, one of the Chicago group serving a ten-year sentence, writes: " . . . Even Senator Pepper utterly refutes the 'argument' that there is any difference betwen our case and that of the Sacramento boys. Men named in the Chicago indictment were co-defendants, and the same 'evidence' was shared between the two cases . . . It may be years before the true significance of the 'Silent Defense' of these men is understood and appreciated. But it *will be* . . . I refused conditioned commutation because I believe that every act of every one of us, however insignificant, has power for good or ill, and the power of even slight actions often reaches into the future. My acceptance of compromise would have made it just that much harder for the next man, for every other man, to live up to *his* principles. It seems to me unthinkable that a self-respecting man would yield even his own civil rights in such a disgraceful bargain; certainly I will never help to fasten chains on my fellow men . . . No killing of men's bodies can kill the ideal for which they have stood. It is only slavishness of spirit that can betray their souls . . . "

G. J. Bourg, also a ten-year man, writes: " . . . When I put my name to that Open Letter sent by all of us to President Harding, I meant and I still mean every word of it. I refuse to accept a life-time parole, and most certainly would not accept release at the expense of the Sacramento boys who are just as innocent of wrongdoing as I am . . . Liberty is as sweet to me as to any man on earth, but it is not sweet enough to purchase at the price of principle and all self-respect . . . "

From a long letter from Harry Lloyd, I want to quote at least a sentence or two: " . . . I have done nothing that I am ashamed of," he declares, "and I will recant nothing . . . Commutation for deportees includes admission of 'moral turpitude' . . . I refuse to even imply that such work as I have conscientiously done for human betterment in the past, was done in mental or moral delinquency . . . I hold that a man who would so betray all his past life, cuts himself off from future social usefulness, for how can the promise, the loyalty, the word, of such a man ever again be relied on? . . . "

And Bert Lorton: ". . . I have had as tough a time here as any man in here, and this is the second opportunity I've had to get out from under the principles I believe in, but you can be very sure I'm never going to *crawl* out with strings tied to me, and most surely not on the backs of innocent men . . . "

I would like to close with a quotation from a letter from Mortimer Downing, a man of over sixty years, one of the Sacramento group so stoutly defended by all these others: " . . . Probably few on the outside can estimate what a simple and earnest deed it was for these men to choose imprisonment rather than liberty; and in one case it means the serving of a twenty-year sentence." (James Rowan.) "The essential principle of our whole industrial movement is solidarity. The world has outgrown individualism and all its train of violence and inhumanity. We call ourselves Industrial Workers of the World to emphasize just this basic fact of essential human brotherhood . . . We can surrender nothing of the principles for which we stand. We are sentries on guard; our stations are fixed until such time as we may be *honorably* relieved of our responsibility . . . Never before has material power been so clearly arrayed against the power of the human spirit. How can any honest soul palter with such issues as these, or cringe and compromise before their challenge? . . . "

I feel that we cannot, for our own sakes, afford to ignore such straightforwardness and courage as these letters evidence, in this day when courage and straightforwardness are so tragically needed in every relation of life.

And I am constrained to recall, in closing this sequence of quotations—"Greater love hath no man than this—that he lay down his life for his friends." Whether or not we may agree with these men in other matters, we can at least make an effort to understand their own point of view, the motives that actuate them, the complete selflessness of their attitude, and remember that "Inasmuch as ye have done this unto the least of these, ye have done it unto Me."

If there is any further information that I may be able to give to any reader of these letters, it will give me pleasure to do so.

RICHARD W. HOGUE.

CHRIST.

Lo! I am with thee always; I am the spirit that broods
As a hen over her chickens, loving the multitudes.

I am the priest at the altar, here where thou bendest in prayer;
At the heart-core's innermost altar, always my spirit is there.

I am the impulse uplifting, the dream that transfigures thy soul;
I am thy holiest longing; I am the way and the goal.

How can ye think of my going, dwelling in realms above;
Leaving the world of my sorrow—I who am uttermost love!

I whom the carpenter fathered, who was suckled at Mary's breast;
I am the infinite pure one, by whom every cradle is blessed.

I am the one who was tempted, in each point even as ye;
Who found in the depths of his being the power that maketh us free.

Nothing in me, O my people! from the world can set me apart;
Nothing was there in my nature that is not in the heart of thy heart.

I was of thee the revealing, revealing the Godhead within;
Showing how only together the summits of life can we win.

This was the Kingdom I talked of, where love is the ruler supreme;
The welfare of others my passion, the oneness of souls my dream.

Believe me, rest not, nor tarry, till its beauty and truth ye prove;
Love the divine is within thee—God, who is fulness of love.

The same who illumined my spirit till uttermost love I became,
None other is waiting within thee, whatever thy station or name.

This thy salvation and glory, that love shall rule in thy heart;
That thou givest thyself in service to the world of which ye are part.

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

THE FIELD

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Address—Rev. B. A. Hills, Mount Clemens, Michigan.

AN ANTI-WAR CRUSADE IS BEING WAGED IN EUROPE.

A vast movement, headed by Mr. Gaston Doumergue, President of the French Senate, Mr. Henry Paté, High Commissioner of the French Government, Dr. Dolpierre, Senator, and Mr. George Maurisson, Deputy and maimed ex-soldier, is now being carried on throughout Europe in view of suppressing wars. By stirring public opinion in all countries one of the main objects of this crusade is that the task of elaborating the "Judicial Peace Estatutes" be confided to the International Permanent Court of Justice at The Hague.

This crusade has in France the support of 279 Senators and Deputies, 80 Fédération or Associations of war veterans, maimed ex-soldiers, widows and orphans. Numerous committees are being formed all over Europe.

The "Universal Association to Suppress the Crime of War," founded by M. Henri Demont, Member of the Paris Bar, with headquarters at 130, rue de Rennes, Paris, is patronized by such eminent jurists as Mr. William D. Guthrie, of New York, Mr. Albert Salle, President of the Order of Lawyers of Paris, N. M. Raoul Reusset, Henri-Robert and G. Mennesson, Honorary Presidents of the above-named Order as well as by a large number of lawyers of the Courts of Appeal of Paris, Brussels and of the main cities of Europe.

This Universal Association which H. William-D. Guthrie has consented to patronize invites the American peace organizations to amalgamate themselves with this Association in view of realizing the profound desire of all peoples to live and work in peace.

Its action is based upon the moral principle that "war is a crime" punishable to the same degree as murder, that the individuals responsible of provocating war must hereafter be tried and condemned before an "International Supreme Court."

This judicial crusade appeals to public opinion in view of instituting a universal organism which by the "Rights of Law" and a "Universal Judicial Constitution" will adjust the controversies arising between nations in the same manner as today in each State are settled disputes between individuals.

To establish at once this supreme security of the peoples by the respect and safeguard of the human beings' sacred existence this Association launches in all parts of the Old Continent an immense movement of opinion so as to obtain from the newly created Permanent International Court of Justice the examination of:

1—a project in four codes of the "Rights of Nations."

2—a project of an "International Constitution" comprising the three following organs:

a)—a legislative organ or "Senate of Nations."

b)—a judiciary organ composed of an "International Court" destined to settle all disputes between nations and of an "International Supreme Court" to try all individuals found to be guilty of provocating war.

c)—an executive organ placed under the direction of the Senate of Nations with an International Police, an International Police Department, a Peace Department and various Commissions of control.

When finally established these two projects will form the "Charter of Humanity."

In the highest interest of humanity it is most desirable that an amalgamation of the American peace organizations with this European Association be established. How could such an appeal not be responded to by the Americans who at all times have always defended the principles of civilization, liberty and independence?

The French Groups of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, with Headquarters at 130, rue de Rennes, Paris, are at the disposal of American Societies, or of any person who desires to help establish this co-operation.

PROHIBITION IN CHICAGO.

The "Northwestern Christian Advocate" published a review of Prohibition in Chicago written by Judge William N. Gemmill, of the Municipal Courts. Judge Gemmill has been Judge of the Municipal Court for 17 years, and has had a unique opportunity to know the effects of Prohibition in that city, which among American cities is next to New York in population.

Judge Gemmill writes:

"Fifteen years ago the bridewell, our

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city prison, seldom had less than 1,800 prisoners and very often was crowded with 2,200, now (with a population twice as large as then) the number of inmates in that institution ranges from 650 to 1,200. Then it took all of the time of two judges sitting at Harrison Street, our central court, to dispose of the criminal business there. They often tried as high as four hundred cases on a single morning. Now only one judge sits there and he seldom has over 125 and often less than fifty cases per day. Then Monday was the worst day of the week, for we had the drunkards brought in during Saturday afternoon and Sunday. Frequently we tried as high as two hundred cases of drunkenness on Monday. Now the number of persons charged with drunkenness arraigned in that court will not average over fifteen per day and Monday is our shortest day. Since the Eighteenth Amendment, we have abolished two courts for want of business, one at Hyde Park, where we formerly had from one hundred to one hundred and fifty cases per day, and one at Thirty-fifth and Halsted Street, where we had a like number. In the last three years the number of prisoners brought to those two courts had been reduced from ten to twenty per day each.

In the twenty years preceding 1918 the record of our city bridewell shows that 45,000 persons were sent there for alcoholism. For many years a special ward was maintained in that institution for persons afflicted with delirium tremens. From fifty to a hundred patients were kept in this ward, most of the time strapped to steel beds, in order that they might not injure anyone else or themselves. Now this ward is closed and last year there was not a single case of delirium tremens there or in the county hospital. D. Joseph Capps, in a recent statement before the Chicago Medical Society, said that out of the 37,566 patients who passed through our county hospital in 1922, there was not a single case of delirium tremens.

I have before me the record of the total deaths for each year in twenty-six of the largest cities in America and I find that with only one exception the number of deaths in 1922 was fewer, indeed very much fewer, in most cases than in 1917. These figures will be published later. In New York City alone, there were 25,000 fewer deaths in 1920 than in 1918 and the health commissioner in New York who takes the place of the coroner in Illinois found 2,000 fewer suspicious deaths in 1920 than in 1917. There can be no doubt, whatever, that these figures disclose the fact that life is more secure and men and women are living more soberly now than ever before.

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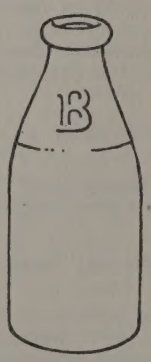

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